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CHAPTER V

MAHATMA GANDHI'S CONCEPT OF SATYAGRAHA

Satyagraha means fighting injustice by voluntarily submitting oneself to suffering.

Mahatma Gandhi

i. Introduction.

Satyagraha, loosely translated as "insistence on truth" (*satya* "truth"; *agraha* "insistence") or *holding onto truth*[1] or *truth force*, is a particular philosophy and practice within the broader overall category generally known as nonviolent resistance or civil resistance. The term *satyagraha* was coined and developed by Mahatma Gandhiji.[2] He deployed satyagraha in the Indian independence movement and also during his earlier struggles in South Africa for Indian rights.[3] Satyagraha theory influenced Nelson Mandela's struggle in South Africa under apartheid, Martin Luther King, Junior's and James Bevel's campaigns during the civil rights movement in the United States, and many other social justice and similar movements.[4] Someone who practices satyagraha is a **satyagrahi**.

ii. Origin of Satyagraha.

The term originated in a competition in the news-sheet *Indian Opinion* in South Africa in 1906.[5] It was an adaptation by Gandhiji of one of the entries in that competition. "Satyagraha" is a compound of the Sanskrit words *satya* (meaning "truth") and *Agraha* ("polite insistence", or "holding firmly to"). Satya is derived from the word "sat", which means "being".

Nothing is or exists in reality except Truth. In the context of satyagraha, Truth therefore includes, a) Truth in speech, as opposed to falsehood, b) what is real, as opposed to nonexistent (asat) and c) good as opposed to evil, or bad. This was critical to Gandhiji's understanding of and faith in nonviolence:" The world rests upon the bedrock of satya or truth. Asatya, meaning untruth, also means nonexistent, and satya or truth also means that which is. If untruth does not so much as exist, its victory is out of the question. And truth being that which is, can never be destroyed. This is the doctrine of satyagraha in a nutshell."[6] For Gandhiji, satyagraha went far beyond mere "passive resistance" and became strength in practising non-violent methods.[7] In his words:

Truth (satya) implies love, and firmness (agraha) engenders and therefore serves as a synonym for force. "I thus began to call the Indian movement Satyagraha, that is to say, the Force which is born of Truth and Love or non-violence, and gave up the use of the phrase 'passive resistance', in connection with it, so much so that even in English writing we often avoided it and used instead the word 'satyagraha' itself or some other equivalent English phrase."[8]

In September 1935, in a letter to P.K. Rao, Servants of India Society, Gandhiji disputed the proposition that his idea of Civil Disobedience was adapted from the writings of Thoreau.

The statement that “I had derived my idea of civil disobedience from the writings of Thoreau is wrong. The resistance to authority in South Africa was well advanced before I got the essay of Thoreau on civil disobedience. But, the movement was then known as passive resistance. As it was incomplete, I had coined the word satyagraha for the Gujarati readers. When I saw the title of Thoreau’s great essay, I began the use of his phrase to explain our struggle to the English readers. But I found that even civil disobedience failed to convey the full meaning of the struggle. I therefore adopted the phrase civil resistance. Non-violence was always an integral part of our struggle.”[9]

Gandhiji described it as follows:

I have also called it love-force or soul-force. In the application of satyagraha, I discovered in the earliest stages that pursuit of truth did not admit of violence being inflicted on one’s opponent but that he must be weaned from error by patience and compassion. For what appears to be truth to the one may appear to be error to the other. And patience means self-suffering. So the doctrine came to mean vindication of truth, not by infliction of suffering on the opponent, but on oneself.[10]

Gandhiji distinguished between satyagraha and passive resistance in the following letter:

“I have drawn the distinction between passive resistance as understood and practiced in the West and satyagraha before I had evolved

the doctrine of the latter to its full logical and spiritual extent. I often used 'passive resistance' and "satyagraha" as synonymous terms: but as the doctrine of satyagraha developed, the expression 'passive resistance' ceases even to be synonymous, as passive resistance has admitted of violence as in the case of the suffragettes and has been universally acknowledged to be a weapon of the weak. Moreover, passive resistance does not necessarily involve complete adherence to truth under every circumstance. Therefore, it is different from satyagraha in three essentials: Satyagraha is a weapon of the strong; it admits of no violence under any circumstance whatsoever; and it ever insists upon truth. I think I have now made the distinction perfectly clear."[11]

iii. Gandhiji and Concepts of Ahimsa and Satyagraha.

It is important to note the intrinsic connection between ahimsa and satyagraha. Satyragraha is sometimes used to refer to the whole principle of nonviolence, where it is essentially the same as ahimsa, and sometimes used in a "marked" meaning to refer specifically to direct action that is largely obstructive, for example in the form of civil disobedience.

Gandhiji says; "It is perhaps clear from the foregoing, that without ahimsa it is not possible to seek and find Truth. Ahimsa and Truth are so intertwined that is is practically impossible to disentangle and separate them. They are like the two sides of a coin, or rather of a smooth unstamped metallic disk. Nevertheless, ahimsa is the means; Truth is the

end. Means to be means must always be within our reach, and so ahimsa is our supreme duty."[12]

i. Gandhiji and the success of Satyagraha.

Appraising the extent to which Gandhiji's ideas of satyagraha were or were not successful in the Indian independence struggle is a complex task. Judith Brown has suggested that "this is a political strategy and technique which, for its outcomes, depends of historical specificities."[13] The view taken by Gandhiji differs from the idea that the goal in any conflict is necessarily to defeat the opponent or frustrate the opponent's objectives, or to meet one's own objectives despite the efforts of the opponent to obstruct these. In satyagraha, by contrast, "The Satyagrahi's object is to convert, not to coerce, the wrong-doer."[14] The opponent must be converted, at least as far as to stop obstructing the just end, for this cooperation to take place. There are cases, to be sure, when an opponent, e.g. a dictator, has to be unseated and one cannot wait to convert him. The satyagrahi would count this a partial success.

ii. Means and ends of Satyagraha.

For Gandhiji the theory of satyagraha sees means and ends as inseparable. The means used to obtain an end are wrapped up in and attached to that end. Therefore, it is contradictory to try to use unjust means to obtain justice or to try to use violence to obtain peace. As

Gandhiji wrote: “They say, ‘means are, after all, means’, I would say, 'means are, after all, everything’. As the means so the end...”[15]

Gandhiji quoted an example to explain this, “If I want to deprive you of your watch, I shall certainly have to fight for it; if I want to buy your watch, I shall have to pay for it; and if I want a gift, I shall have to plead for it; and, according to the means I employ, the watch is stolen property, my own property or a donation.”[16]

Gandhiji rejected the idea that injustice should, or even could, be fought against “by any means necessary”- if you use violent, coercive, unjust means, whatever ends you produce will necessarily embed that injustice. To those, who preached violence and called nonviolent actionists cowards, Gandhiji replied: “I do believe that, where there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence....I would rather have India resort to arms in order to defend her honour than that she should, in a cowardly manner, become or remain a helpless witness to her own dishonour....But I believe that nonviolence is infinitely superior to violence, forgiveness is more manly than punishment.”[17]

iii. Distinguishing Satyagraha and Duragraha.

The essence of Satyagraha is that it seeks to eliminate antagonisms without harming the antagonists themselves, as opposed to violent resistance, which is meant to cause harm to the antagonist. A Satyagrahi therefore does not seek to end or destroy the relationship with the

antagonist, but instead seeks to transform or “purify” it to a higher level. A euphemism sometimes used for Satyagraha is that it is a “silent force” or a “soul force” (a term also used by Martin Luther King Jr. during his famous “I Have a Dream” speech). It arms the individual with moral power rather than physical power. Satyagraha is also termed a “universal force,” as it essentially “makes no distinction between kinsmen and strangers, young and old, man and woman, friend and foe.”[18]

Gandhiji distinguished satyagraha (holding on to truth) with “duragraha” (holding on by force), as in protest meant more to harass than enlighten opponents. He wrote: “There must be no impatience, no barbarity, no insolence, no undue pressure. If we want to cultivate a true spirit of democracy, we cannot afford to be intolerant. Intolerance betrays want of faith in one's cause.”[19]

Civil disobedience and non-cooperation as practised under Satyagraha are based on the “law of suffering”,[20] a doctrine that the endurance of suffering is a means to an end. This end usually implies a moral upliftment or progress of an individual or society. Therefore, non-cooperation in Satyagraha is in fact a means to secure the cooperation of the opponent consistently with truth and justice.

iv. Satyagraha in Mass Conflict.

When using satyagraha in a large-scale political conflict involving civil disobedience, Gandhiji believed that the satyagrahis must undergo training

to ensure discipline. He wrote that it is “only when people have proved their active loyalty by obeying the many laws of the State that they acquire the right of Civil Disobedience.”[21]

He therefore made part of the discipline that satyagrahis:

1. appreciate the other laws of the State and obey them voluntarily
2. tolerate these laws, even when they are inconvenient
3. be willing to undergo suffering, loss of property, and to endure the suffering that might be inflicted on family and friends[22]

This obedience has to be not merely grudging, but extraordinary;

...an honest, respectable man will not suddenly take to stealing whether there is a law against stealing or not, but this very man will not feel any remorse for failure to observe the rule about carrying headlights on bicycles after dark.... But he would observe any obligatory rule of this kind, if only to escape the inconvenience of facing a prosecution for a breach of the rule. Such compliance is not, however, the willing and spontaneous obedience that is required of a Satyagrahi.[23]

v. Principles laid by Gandhiji Satyagrahis.

Gandhiji envisaged satyagraha as not only a tactic to be used in acute political struggle, but as a universal solvent for injustice and harm. He felt that it was equally applicable to large-scale political struggle and to one-on-one interpersonal conflicts and that, it should be taught to everyone.[24]

He founded the Sabarmati Ashram to teach satyagraha. He asked satyagrahis to follow the following principles (described in Yoga Sutra):[25]

1. Nonviolence (ahimsa)
2. Truth includes honesty, but goes beyond it to mean living fully in accord with and in devotion to that which is true
3. Non-stealing
4. Chastity (brahmacharya) includes sexual chastity, but also the subordination of other sensual desires to the primary devotion to truth
5. Non-possession (not the same as poverty)
6. Body-labor or bread-labor
7. Control of the palate
8. Fearlessness
9. Equal respect for all religions
10. Economic strategy such as boycotts (swadeshi)
11. Freedom from untouchability.

On another occasion, he listed seven rules as “essential for every Satyagrahi in India”:[26]

1. must have a living faith in God
2. must believe in truth and non-violence and have faith in the inherent goodness of human nature which he expects to evoke by suffering in the satyagraha effort
3. must be leading a chaste life, and be willing to die or lose all his possessions
4. must be a habitual *khadi* wearer and spinner

5. must abstain from alcohol and other intoxicants
6. must willingly carry out all the rules of discipline that are issued
7. must obey the jail rules unless they are specially devised to hurt his self-respect

vi. Rules for staging Satyagraha Campaigns

Gandhiji proposed a series of rules for satyagrahis to follow in a resistance campaign:[27]

1. harbour no anger
2. suffer the anger of the opponent
3. never retaliate to assaults or punishment; but do not submit, out of fear of punishment or assault, to an order given in anger
4. voluntarily submit to arrest or confiscation of your own property
5. if you are a trustee of property, defend that property (non-violently) from confiscation with your life
6. do not curse or swear
7. do not insult the opponent
8. neither salute nor insult the flag of your opponent or your opponent's leaders
9. if anyone attempts to insult or assault your opponent, defend your opponent (non-violently) with your life
10. as a prisoner, behave courteously and obey prison regulations (except any that are contrary to self-respect)
11. as a prisoner, do not ask for special favourable treatment

12. as a prisoner, do not fast in an attempt to gain conveniences whose deprivation does not involve any injury to your self-respect
13. joyfully obey the orders of the leaders of the civil disobedience action
14. do not pick and choose amongst the orders you obey; if you find the action as a whole improper or immoral, sever your connection with the action entirely
15. do not make your participation conditional on your comrades taking care of your dependents while you are engaging in the campaign or are in prison; do not expect them to provide such support
16. do not become a cause of communal quarrels
17. do not take sides in such quarrels, but assist only that party which is demonstrably in the right; in the case of inter-religious conflict, give your life to protect (non-violently) those in danger on either side
18. avoid occasions that may give rise to communal quarrels
19. do not take part in processions that would wound the religious sensibilities of any community

vii. Satyagraha and the civil rights movement in the United States.

Satyagraha theory also influenced many other movements of civil resistance. For example, Martin Luther King, Jr. wrote in his autobiography about Gandhiji's influence on his developing ideas regarding the civil rights movement in the United States:

Like most people, I had heard of Gandhiji, but I had never studied him seriously. As I read, I became deeply fascinated by his campaigns of nonviolent resistance. I was particularly moved by his Salt March to the Sea

and his numerous fasts. The whole concept of *Satyagraha* (*Satya* is truth which equals love, and *agraha* is force; *Satyagraha*, therefore, means truth force or love force) was profoundly significant to me. As I delved deeper into the philosophy of Gandhiji, my skepticism concerning the power of love gradually diminished, and I came to see for the first time its potency in the area of social reform. ... It was in this Gandhijian emphasis on love and nonviolence that I discovered the method for social reform that I had been seeking.[28]

viii. Gandhiji and Jewish persecution.

In view of the Nazi persecution of the Jews in Germany, Gandhiji offered satyagraha as a method of combating oppression and genocide, stating:

If I were a Jew and were born in Germany and earned my livelihood there, I would claim Germany as my home even as the tallest Gentile German might, and challenge him to shoot me or cast me in the dungeon; I would refuse to be expelled or to submit to discriminating treatment. And for doing this I should not wait for the fellow Jews to join me in civil resistance, but would have confidence that in the end the rest were bound to follow my example. If one Jew or all the Jews were to accept the prescription here offered, he or they cannot be worse off than now. And suffering voluntarily undergone will bring them an inner strength and joy, the calculated violence of Hitler may even result in a general massacre of the Jews by way of his

first answer to the declaration of such hostilities. But if the Jewish mind could be prepared for voluntary suffering, even the massacre I have imagined could be turned into a day of thanksgiving and joy that Jehovah had wrought deliverance of the race even at the hands of the tyrant. For to the God-fearing, death has no terror.[29]

When Gandhiji was criticized for these statements, he responded in another article entitled “Some Questions Answered”:

Friends have sent me two newspaper cuttings criticizing my appeal to the Jews. The two critics suggest that in presenting non-violence to the Jews as a remedy against the wrong done to them, I have suggested nothing new... What I have pleaded for is renunciation of violence of the heart and consequent active exercise of the force generated by the great renunciation.”[30]

In a similar vein, anticipating a possible attack on India by Japan during World War II, Gandhiji recommended satyagraha as a means of national defense (what is now sometimes called "Civilian Based Defense (CBD) or "social defence"):

...there should be unadulterated non-violent non-cooperation, and if the whole of India responded and unanimously offered it, I should show that, without shedding a single drop of blood, Japanese arms – or any combination of arms – can be sterilized. That involves the determination of India not to give quarter on any point whatsoever and to be ready to risk

loss of several million lives. But I would consider that cost very cheap and victory won at that cost glorious. That India may not be ready to pay that price may be true. I hope it is not true, but some such price must be paid by any country that wants to retain its independence. After all, the sacrifice made by the Russians and the Chinese is enormous, and they are ready to risk all. The same could be said of the other countries also, whether aggressors or defenders. The cost is enormous. Therefore, in the non-violent technique I am asking India to risk no more than other countries are risking and which India would have to risk even if she offered armed resistance.[31]

II. Gandhiji's Satyagraha in India National (Mass) Movements.

Mahatma Gandhi had been a prominent leader of the Indian nationalist movement in South Africa, and had been a vocal opponent of basic discrimination and abusive labour treatment as well as suppressive police control such as the Rowlatt Acts. During these protests, Gandhiji had perfected the concept of *satyagraha*, which had been inspired by the philosophy of Baba Ram Singh (famous for leading the Kuka Movement in the Punjab in 1872). In January 1914 (well before the First World War began) Gandhiji was successful. The hated legislation against Indians was repealed and all Indian political prisoners were released by General Jan Smuts.[32] What Gandhi had done that nobody had accomplished before, was getting the people of India to unite against the British. The tactics he

used were all non-violent as he preached and were usually boycotting, protest marches and fasts.[33]

Gandhi returned to India, on 9 January 1915 and initially entered the political fray not with calls for a nation-state, but in support of the unified commerce-oriented territory that the Congress Party had been asking for. Gandhi believed that the industrial development and educational development that the Europeans had brought with them were required to alleviate many of India's problems. Gopal Krishna Gokhale, a veteran Congressman and Indian leader, became Gandhi's mentor. Gandhi's ideas and strategies of non-violent civil disobedience initially appeared impractical to some Indians and Congressmen. In Gandhi's own words, “civil disobedience is civil breach of unmoral statutory enactments.” It had to be carried out non-violently by withdrawing cooperation with the corrupt state. Gandhi's ability to inspire millions of common people became clear when he used satyagraha during the anti-Rowlatt Act protests in Punjab. Gandhi had great respect for Lokmanya Tilak. His programmes were all inspired by Tilak's “Chatusutri” programme.

Gandhi's vision would soon bring millions of regular Indians into the movement, transforming it from an elitist struggle to a national one. The nationalist cause was expanded to include the interests and industries that formed the economy of common Indians. For example, in Champaran, Bihar, Gandhi championed the plight of desperately poor sharecroppers

and landless farmers who were being forced to pay oppressive taxes and grow cash crops at the expense of the subsistence crops which formed their food supply. The profits from the crops they grew were insufficient to provide for their sustenance.

The positive impact of reform was seriously undermined in 1919 by the Rowlatt Act, named after the recommendations made the previous year to the Imperial Legislative Council by the Rowlatt Commission. The Rowlatt Act vested the Viceroy's government with extraordinary powers to quell sedition by silencing the press, detaining the political activists without trial, and arresting any individuals suspected of sedition or treason without a warrant. In protest, a nationwide cessation of work (*hartal*) was called, marking the beginning of widespread, although not nationwide, popular discontent.

The agitation unleashed by the acts led to British attacks on demonstrators, culminating on 13 April 1919, in the Jallianwala Bagh massacre (also known as the Amritsar Massacre) in Amritsar, Punjab. The British military commander, Brigadier-General Reginald Dyer, blocked the main, and only entrance-cum-exit, and ordered his soldiers to fire into an unarmed and unsuspecting crowd of some 15,000 men, women and children. They had assembled peacefully at Jallianwala Bagh, a walled courtyard, but Dyer had wanted to execute the imposed ban on all meetings and proposed to teach all Indians a lesson the harsher way.[34] A

total of 1,651 rounds were fired, killing 379 people (as according to an official British commission; Indian officials' estimates ranged as high as 1,499 and wounding 1,137 in the massacre.)[35] Dyer was forced to retire but was hailed as a hero in Britain, demonstrating to Indian nationalists that the Empire was beholden to public opinion in Britain, but not in India.[36] The episode dissolved wartime hopes of home rule and goodwill and opened a rift that could not be bridged short of complete independence.[37]

i. Non-cooperation movement- the initial stage of his satyagrahas.

At the Calcutta session of the Congress in September 1920, Gandhi convinced other leaders of the need to start a non-cooperation movement in support of Khilafat as well as for swaraj (self rule). The first satyagraha movement urged the use of khadi and Indian material as alternatives to those shipped from Britain. It also urged people to boycott British educational institutions and law courts; resign from government employment; refuse to pay taxes; and forsake British titles and honours. Although this came too late to influence the framing of the new *Government of India Act 1919*, the movement enjoyed widespread popular support, and the resulting unparalleled magnitude of disorder presented a serious challenge to foreign rule. However, Gandhi called off the movement following the Chauri Chaura incident, which saw the death of twenty-two policemen at the hands of an angry mob.

Membership in the party was opened to anyone prepared to pay a token fee, and a hierarchy of committees was established and made responsible for discipline and control over a hitherto amorphous and diffuse movement. The party was transformed from an elite organisation to one of mass national appeal and participation.

Gandhi was sentenced in 1922 to six years of prison, but was released after serving two.[38] On his release from prison, he set up the Sabarmati Ashram in Ahmedabad, on the banks of river Sabarmati, established the newspaper *Young India*, and inaugurated a series of reforms aimed at the socially disadvantaged within Hindu society-the rural poor, and the untouchables. [39]

This era saw the emergence of new generation of Indians from within the Indian National Congress Party, including C. Rajagopalachari, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Subhas Chandra Bose and others-who would later on come to form the prominent voices of the Indian independence movement, whether keeping with Gandhian Values, or, as in the case of Bose's Indian National Army, diverging from it.

The Indian political spectrum was further broadened in the mid-1920s by the emergence of both moderate and militant parties, such as the Swaraj Party, Hindu Mahasabha, Communist Party of India and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. Regional political organisations also continued to represent the interests of non-Brahmins in Madras, Mahars in

Maharashtra, and Sikhs in Punjab. However, people like Subramanya Bharathi, Vanchinathan and Neelakanda Brahmachari played a major role from Tamil Nadu in both independence struggle and fighting for equality for all castes and communities.

ii. Satyagraha as the Mass Movement–The Civil Disobedience or Salt Satyagraha.

The **Salt March** or the Dandi March, also known as the **Salt Satyagraha**, began on 12 March 1930 and was an important part of the Indian independence movement. It was a direct action campaign of tax resistance and nonviolent protest against the British salt monopoly in colonial India, and triggered the wider Civil Disobedience Movement. This was the most significant organised challenge to British authority since the Non-cooperation movement of 1920–22, and directly followed the Purna Swaraj declaration of independence by the Indian National Congress on 26 January 1930.

Gandhiji led the Dandi march from his residence, Sabarmati Ashram near Ahmedabad, to the coastal village of Dandi, located at a small town called Navsari, in the state of Gujarat. As he continued on this 24-day, 240-mile (390 km) march to Dandi to produce salt without paying the tax, growing numbers of Indians joined him along the way. When Gandhiji broke the salt laws at 6:30 am on 5 April 1930, it sparked large scale acts of civil disobedience against the British Raj salt laws by millions of Indians.[40] The

campaign had a significant effect on changing world and British attitude towards Indian independence[41] and caused large numbers of Indians to join the fight for the first time.[42]

After preparing salt at Dandi, Gandhiji continued southward along the coast, producing salt and addressing meetings on the way. The Congress Party planned to stage a satyagraha at the Dharasana Salt Works, 25 miles south of Dandi. However, Gandhiji was arrested on the midnight of 4–5 May 1930, just days before the planned action at Dharasana. The Dandi March and the ensuing Dharasana Satyagraha drew worldwide attention to the Indian independence movement through extensive newspaper and newsreel coverage. The satyagraha against the salt tax continued for almost a year, ending with Gandhiji's release from jail and negotiations with Viceroy Lord Irwin at the Second Round Table Conference.[43] Over 80,000 Indians were jailed as a result of the Salt Satyagraha.[44] However, it failed to result in major concessions from the British.[45]

The Salt Satyagraha campaign was based upon Gandhiji's principles of nonviolent protest as envisaged in *satyagraha*, which he loosely translated as “truth-force.”[46] Literally, it is formed from the Sanskrit words *satya*, "truth", and *agraha*, "force." In early 1930 the Indian National Congress chose satyagraha as their main tactic for winning Indian independence from British rule and appointed Gandhiji to organise the campaign. Gandhiji chose the 1882 British Salt Act as the first target of

satyagraha. The Salt March to Dandi, and the beating by British police of hundreds of nonviolent protesters in Dharasana, which received worldwide news coverage, demonstrated the effective use of civil disobedience as a technique for fighting social and political injustice.[47] The satyagraha teachings of Gandhiji and the March to Dandi had a significant influence on American activists Martin Luther King, Jr., James Bevel, and others during the movement for civil rights for blacks and other minority groups in the 1960s.[48]

A. Declaration of Independence.

At midnight on 31 December 1929, the Indian National Congress raised the tricolour flag of India on the banks of the Ravi at Lahore. The Indian National Congress, led by Gandhiji and Jawaharlal Nehru, publicly issued the Declaration of Independence, or Purna Swaraj, on 26 January 1930.[49] (Literally in Sanskrit, *purna*, "complete," *swa*, "self," *raj*, "rule," so therefore "complete self-rule".) The declaration included the readiness to withhold taxes, and the statement:

"We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them the people have a further right to alter it or abolish it. The British government in India has not only deprived the Indian

people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually. We believe therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain *Purna Swaraj* or complete independence."[50]

The Congress Working Committee gave Gandhiji the responsibility for organising the first act of civil disobedience, with Congress itself ready to take charge after Gandhiji's expected arrest.[51] Gandhiji's plan was to begin civil disobedience with a satyagraha aimed at the British salt tax. The 1882 Salt Act gave the British a monopoly on the collection and manufacture of salt, limiting its handling to government salt depots and levying a salt tax.[52] Violation of the Salt Act was a criminal offence. Even though salt was freely available to those living on the coast (by evaporation of sea water), Indians were forced to purchase it from the colonial government.

B. Choice of salt tax as Issue of Satyagraha.

Initially, Gandhiji's choice of the salt tax was met with incredulity by the Working Committee of the Congress,[53] Jawaharlal Nehru and Dibyalochan Sahoo were ambivalent; Sardar Patel suggested a land revenue boycott instead.[54,] *The Statesman*, a prominent newspaper, wrote about the choice[55] "It is difficult not to laugh, and we imagine that will be the mood of most thinking Indians."[56]

The British establishment too was not disturbed by these plans of resistance against the salt tax. The Viceroy himself, Lord Irwin, did not take

the threat of a salt protest seriously, writing to London, "At present the prospect of a salt campaign does not keep me awake at night."[57]

However, Gandhiji had sound reasons for his decision. The salt tax was a deeply symbolic choice, since salt was used by nearly everyone in India, to replace the salt lost by sweating in India's tropical climate. An item of daily use could resonate more with all classes of citizens than an abstract demand for greater political rights.[58] The salt tax represented 8.2% of the British Raj tax revenue, and hurt the poorest Indians the most significantly.[59] Explaining his choice, Gandhiji said, "Next to air and water, salt is perhaps the greatest necessity of life." In contrast to the other leaders, the prominent Congressman, C. Rajagopalachari, understood Gandhiji's viewpoint. In a public meeting at Tuticorin, he said:

"Suppose, a people rise in revolt. They cannot attack the abstract constitution or lead an army against proclamations and statutes...Civil disobedience has to be directed against the salt tax or the land tax or some other particular point-not that that is our final end, but for the time being it is our aim, and we must shoot straight."[60]

Gandhiji felt that this protest would dramatize Purna Swaraj in a way that was meaningful to the lowliest Indians. He also reasoned that it would build unity between Hindus and Muslims by fighting a wrong that touched them equally.[61]

After the protest gathered steam, the leaders realised the power of salt as a symbol. Nehru remarked about the unprecedented popular response, “it seemed as though a spring had been suddenly released.”[62]

C. The Satyagraha.

Mahatma Gandhiji, along with many members of the Congress Party, had a long-standing commitment to nonviolent civil disobedience, which he termed *satyagraha*, as the basis for achieving Indian independence.[63,64] Referring to the relationship between *satyagraha* and *Purna Swaraj*, Gandhiji saw "an inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree."[65] He wrote, "If the means employed are impure, the change will not be in the direction of progress but very likely in the opposite. Only a change brought about in our political condition by pure means can lead to real progress."[66]

Satyagraha is a synthesis of the Sanskrit words *Satya* (truth) and *Agraha* (holding firmly to). For Gandhiji, satyagraha went far beyond mere “passive resistance” and became strength in practising nonviolent methods. In his words:

“Truth (satya) implies love, and firmness (agraha) engenders and therefore serves as a synonym for force. I thus began to call the Indian movement Satyagraha, that is to say, the Force which is born of Truth and Love or nonviolence, and gave up the use of the phrase ‘passive resistance’, in connection with it, so much so that even in English writing we often avoided it and used instead the word ‘satyagraha’....”[67]

His first significant attempt in India at leading mass satyagraha was the non-cooperation movement from 1920–1922. Even though it succeeded in raising millions of Indians in protest against the British created Rowlatt Acts, violence broke out at Chauri Chaura, where a mob killed 22 unarmed policemen. Gandhiji suspended the protest, against the opposition of other Congress members. He decided that Indians were not yet ready for successful nonviolent resistance.[68] The Bardoli Satyagraha in 1928 was much more successful. It succeeded in paralyzing the British government and winning significant concessions. More importantly, due to extensive press coverage, it scored a propaganda victory out of all proportion to its size.[69] Gandhiji later claimed that success at Bardoli confirmed his belief in Satyagraha and Swaraj: “It is only gradually that we shall come to know the importance of the victory gained at Bardoli...Bardoli has shown the way and cleared it. Swaraj lies on that route, and that alone is the cure...”[70]

On 5 February, newspapers reported that Gandhiji would begin civil disobedience by defying the salt laws. The salt satyagraha would begin on 12 March and end in Dandi with Gandhiji breaking the Salt Act on 6 April.[71] Gandhiji chose 6 April to launch the mass breaking of the salt laws for a symbolic reason - it was the first day of "National Week", begun in 1919 when Gandhiji conceived of the national hartal (strike) against the Rowlatt Act.[72]

Gandhiji prepared the worldwide media for the march by issuing regular statements from Sabarmati, at his regular prayer meetings and through direct contact with the press. Expectations were heightened by his repeated statements anticipating arrest, and his increasingly dramatic language as the hour approached: “We are entering upon a life and death struggle, a holy war; we are performing an all-embracing sacrifice in which we wish to offer ourselves as oblation.”[73]

Gandhiji wanted the strictest discipline and adherence to satyagraha and ahimsa for the march. For that reason, he recruited the satyagrahis not from Congress Party members, but from the residents of his own ashram, who were trained in Gandhiji's strict standards of discipline.[74] The 24-day march would pass through 4 districts and 48 villages. The route of the march, along with each evening's stopping place, was planned based on recruitment potential, past contacts, and timing. Gandhiji sent scouts to each village ahead of the march so he could plan his talks at each resting place, based on the needs of the local residents.[75]

On 2 March 1930 Gandhiji wrote to the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, offering to stop the march if Irwin met eleven demands, including reduction of land revenue assessments, cutting military spending, imposing a tariff on foreign cloth, and abolishing the salt tax.[76]

The Viceroy held any prospect of a 'salt protest' in disdain. After he ignored the letter and refused to meet with Gandhiji, the march was set in

motion.[77] Gandhiji remarked, “On bended knees I asked for bread and I have received stone instead.”[78] The eve of the march brought thousands of Indians to Sabarmati to hear Gandhiji speak at the regular evening prayer. An American academic writing for The Nation reported that “60,000 persons gathered on the bank of the river to hear Gandhiji's call to arms. This call to arms was perhaps the most remarkable call to war that has ever been made.”[79]

D. The March to Dandi.

Gandhiji and 78 satyagrahis (many of them were scheduled castes), set out on foot for the coastal village of Dandi, Gujarat, over 390 kilometres (240 mi) from their starting point at Sabarmati Ashram on 12 March 1930.[80] The Salt March was also called the White Flowing River because all the people were joining the procession wearing white khadi. According to The Statesman, the official government newspaper which usually played down the size of crowds at Gandhiji's functions, 100,000 people crowded the road that separated Sabarmati from Ahmadabad.[81,82] The first day's march of 21 kilometres (13 mi) ended in the village of Aslali, where Gandhiji spoke to a crowd of about 4,000. At Aslali, and the other villages that the march passed through, volunteers collected donations, registered new satyagrahis, and received resignations from village officials who chose to end co-operation with British rule.[83]

Thousands of satyagrahis and leaders like Sarojini Naidu joined him. Every day, more and more people joined the march, until the procession of marchers became at least two miles long. To keep up their spirits, the marchers used to sing the Hindu bhajan Raghupati Raghava Raja Ram while walking.[84] At Surat, they were greeted by 30,000 people. When they reached the railhead at Dandi, more than 50,000 were gathered. Gandhiji gave interviews and wrote articles along the way. Foreign journalists made him a household name in Europe and America.[85]

Upon arriving at the seashore on 5 April, Gandhiji stated;

"I cannot withhold my compliments from the government for the policy of complete non interference adopted by them throughout the march .... I wish I could believe this non-interference was due to any real change of heart or policy. The wanton disregard shown by them to popular feeling in the Legislative Assembly and their high-handed action leave no room for doubt that the policy of heartless exploitation of India is to be persisted in at any cost, and so the only interpretation I can put upon this non-interference is that the British Government, powerful though it is, is sensitive to world opinion which will not tolerate repression of extreme political agitation which civil disobedience undoubtedly is, so long as disobedience remains civil and therefore necessarily non-violent .... It remains to be seen whether the Government will tolerate as they have tolerated the march, the actual breach of the salt laws by countless people from tomorrow."[86]

The following morning, after a prayer, Gandhiji raised a lump of salty mud and declared, "With this, I am shaking the foundations of the British Empire."[87] He then boiled it in seawater, producing illegal salt. He implored his thousands of followers to likewise begin making salt along the

seashore, “wherever it is convenient” and to instruct villagers in making illegal, but necessary, salt.[88]

Eighty (80) Satyagrahis accompanied Gandhiji on his march. These men hailed from almost all parts of the country. The march gathered more people as it gained momentum, the following is list of names of the first 80 marchers who were with Gandhiji right from the beginning of the Dandi March till the end. The list of these 80 satyagrahais is as follows[89]

No	Name	Age	Province (British India)	State (Republic of India)
1	Mohandas Karamchand Gandhiji	61	Princely State of Porbandar	Gujarat
2	Pyarelal Nayyar	30	Panjab	Punjab
3	Chhaganlal Naththubhai Joshi	35	Unknown Princely Sta	Gujarat
4	Pandit Narayan Moreshwar Khare	42	Bombay	Maharashtra
5	Ganpatrav Godshe	25	Bombay	Maharashtra
6	Prathviraj Lakshmidas Ashar	19	Cutch	Gujarat
7	Mahavir Giri	20	Princely State of Nepa	
8	Bal Dattatreya Kalelkar	18	Bombay	Maharashtra
9	Jayanti Nathubhai Parek	19	Unknown Princely Sta	Gujarat
10	Rasik Desai	19	Unknown Princely Sta	Gujarat
11	Vitthal Liladhar Thakkar	16	Unknown Princely Sta	Gujarat
12	Harakhji Ramjibhai	18	Unknown Princely Sta	Gujarat
13	Tansukh Pranshankar Bhatt	20	Unknown Princely Sta	Gujarat
14	Kantilal Harilal Gandhiji	20	Unknown Princely Sta	Gujarat
15	Chhotubhai Khushalbha Patel	22	Unknown Princely Sta	Gujarat
16	Valjibhai Govindji Desai	35	Unknown Princely Sta	Gujarat

17	Pannalal Balabhai Jhave	20		Gujarat
18	Abbas Varteji	20		Gujarat
19	Punjabhai Shah	25		Gujarat
20	Madhavjibhai Thakkar	40	Cutch	Gujarat
21	Naranjibhai	22	Cutch	Gujarat
22	Maganbhai Vora	25	Cutch	Gujarat
23	Dungarsibhai	27	Cutch	Gujarat
24	Somalal Pragjibhai Pate	25		Gujarat
25	Hasmukhram Jakabar	25		Gujarat
26	Daudbhai	25		Gujarat
27	Ramjibhai Vankar	45		Gujarat
28	Dinkarrai Pandya	30		Gujarat
29	Dwarkanath	30		Maharashtra
30	Gajanan Khare	25		Maharashtra
31	Jethalal Ruparel	25	Cutch	Gujarat
32	Govind Harkare	25		Maharashtra
33	Pandurang	22		Maharashtra
34	Vinayakrao Aapte	33		Maharashtra
35	Ramdhirrai	30	United Provinces	
36	Bhanushankar Dave	22		Gujarat
37	Munshilal	25	United Provinces	
38	Raghavan	25	Madras Presidency	Kerala
39	Ravjibhai Nathalal Patel	30		Gujarat
40	Shivabhai Gokhalbhai Patel	27		Gujarat
41	Shankarbhai Bhikabhai Patel	20		Gujarat
42	Jashbhai Ishwarbhai Pa	20		Gujarat
43	Sumangal Prakash	25	United Provinces	
44	Thevarthundiyil Titus	25	Madras Presidency	Kerala
45	Krishna Nair	25	Madras Presidency	Kerala
46	Tapan Nair	25	Madras Presidency	Kerala
47	Haridas Varjivandas Gandhiji	25		Gujarat

48	Chimanlal Narsilal Shah	25		Gujarat
49	Shankaran	25	Madras Presidency	Kerala
50	Subhramanyam	25		Andhra Pradesh
51	Ramaniklal Maganlal Mo	38		Gujarat
52	Madanmohan Chaturved	27	Rajputana	Rajasthan
53	Harilal Mahimtura	27		Maharashtra
54	Motibasdas	20		Odisha
55	Haridas Muzumdar	25		Gujarat
56	Anand Hingorini	24	Sindh	Sindh (Pakistan)
57	Mahadev Martand Mylar	18		Karnataka
58	Jayantiprasad	30	United Provinces	
59	Hariprasad	20	United Provinces	
60	Girivardhari Chaudhari	20		Bihar
61	Keshav Chitre	25		Maharashtra
62	Ambalal Shankarbhai Patel	30		Gujarat
63	Vishnu Pant	25		Maharashtra
64	Premraj	35		Punjab
65	Durgesh Chandra Das	44	Bengal	Bengal
66	Madhavlal Shah	27		Gujarat
67	Jyotiram	30	United Provinces	
68	Surajbhan	34		Punjab
69	Bhairav Dutt	25	United Provinces	
70	Lalji Parmar	25		Gujarat
71	Ratnaji Boria	18		Gujarat
72	Vishnu Sharma	30		Maharashtra
73	Chintamani Shastri	40		Maharashtra
74	Narayan Dutt	24	Rajputana	Rajasthan
75	Manilal Mohandas Gandhiji	38		Gujarat
76	Surendra	30	United Provinces	
77	Haribhai Mohani	32		Maharashtra
78	Puratan Buch	25		Gujarat
79	Kharag Bahadur Singh	25	Princely State of Nepa	

	Giri			
80	Satish (Shankar) Kalelka	20		Maharashtra

Mass civil disobedience spread throughout India as millions broke the salt laws by making salt or buying illegal salt.[90] Salt was sold illegally all over the coast of India. A pinch of salt made by Gandhiji himself sold for 1,600 rupees (equivalent to $750 at the time). In reaction, the British government arrested over sixty thousand people by the end of the month.[91]

What had begun as a Salt Satyagraha quickly grew into a mass Satyagraha.[92] British cloth and goods were boycotted. Unpopular forest laws were defied in the Maharashtra, Carnatic, and Central Provinces. Gujarati peasants refused to pay tax, under threat of losing their crops and land. In Midnapore, Bengalis took part by refusing to pay the chowkidar tax.[93] The British responded with more laws, including censorship of correspondence and declaring the Congress and its associate organisations illegal. None of those measures slowed the civil disobedience movement.[94]

While Gandhiji marched along India's west coast, his close associate C. Rajagopalachari organized the Vedaranyam salt march in parallel on the east coast. His group started from Tiruchirappalli, in Madras Presidency (now part of Tamil Nadu), to the coastal village of Vedaranyam. After making illegal salt there, he too was arrested by the British.[95]

In the civil disobedience in 1930 for the first time women became mass participants in the struggle for freedom. Thousands of women, from large cities to small villages, became active participants in satyagraha.[96] Gandhiji had asked that only men take part in the salt march, but eventually women began manufacturing and selling salt throughout India. Usha Mehta, an early Gandhian activist, remarked, “Even our old aunts and great-aunts and grandmothers used to bring pitchers of salt water to their houses and manufacture illegal salt. And then they would shout at the top of their voices: 'We have broken the salt law!' “[97] The growing number of women in the fight for independence was a “new and serious feature” according to Lord Irwin. A government report on the involvement of women stated "thousands of them emerged....from the seclusion of their homes...in order to join Congress demonstrations and assist in picketing: and their presence on these occasions made the work the police was required to perform particularly unpleasant.” [98]

There were outbreaks of violence in Calcutta (now Kolkata), Karachi, and Gujarat. Unlike his suspension of satyagraha after violence broke out during the Non-co-operation movement, this time Gandhiji was “unmoved”. Appealing for violence to end, at the same time Gandhiji honoured those killed in Chittagong and congratulated their parents “for the finished sacrifices of their sons.... A warrior's death is never a matter for sorrow.”[99]

British documents show that the British government was shaken by satyagraha. Nonviolent protest left the British confused about whether or not to jail Gandhiji. John Court Curry, a British police officer stationed in India, wrote in his memoirs that he felt nausea every time he dealt with Congress demonstrations in 1930. Curry and others in British government, including Wedgwood Benn, Secretary of State for India, preferred fighting violent rather than nonviolent opponents.[100]

iii. The Salt Satyagraha and Aftermath.

Gandhiji himself avoided further active involvement after the march, though he stayed in close contact with the developments throughout India. He created a temporary ashram near Dandi. From there, he urged women followers in Bombay (now Mumbai) to picket liquor shops and foreign cloth. He said that "a bonfire should be made of foreign cloth. Schools and colleges should become empty."[101]

For his next major action, Gandhiji decided on a raid of the Dharasana Salt Works in Gujarat, 25 miles south of Dandi. He wrote to Lord Irwin, again telling him of his plans. Around midnight of 4 May, as Gandhiji was sleeping on a cot in a mango grove, the District Magistrate of Surat drove up with two Indian officers and thirty heavily armed constables.[102] He was arrested under an 1827 regulation calling for the jailing of people engaged in unlawful activities, and held without trial near Poona (now Pune).[103]

The Dharasana Satyagraha went ahead as planned, with Abbas Tyabji, a seventy-six-year-old retired judge, leading the march with Gandhiji's wife Kasturba at his side. Both were arrested before reaching Dharasana and sentenced to three months in prison. After their arrests, the march continued under the leadership of Sarojini Naidu, a woman poet and freedom fighter, who warned the satyagrahis, “You must not use any violence under any circumstances. You will be beaten, but you must not resist: you must not even raise a hand to ward off blows.” Soldiers began clubbing the satyagrahis with steel tipped lathis in an incident that attracted international attention.[104]

United Press correspondent Webb Miller reported that:

“Not one of the marchers even raised an arm to fend off the blows. They went down like ten-pins. From where I stood I heard the sickening whacks of the clubs on unprotected skulls. The waiting crowd of watchers groaned and sucked in their breaths in sympathetic pain at every blow. Those struck down fell sprawling, unconscious or writhing in pain with fractured skulls or broken shoulders. In two or three minutes the ground was quilted with bodies. Great patches of blood widened on their white clothes. The survivors without breaking ranks silently and doggedly marched on until struck down....Finally the police became enraged by the non-resistance....They commenced savagely kicking the seated men in the abdomen and testicles. The injured men writhed and squealed in agony, which seemed to inflame the fury of the police....The police then began dragging the sitting men by the arms or feet, sometimes for a hundred yards, and throwing them into ditches.”[105]

Vithalbhai Patel, watched the beatings and remarked, "*All hope of reconciling India with the British Empire is lost forever.*"[106]

Salt Satyagraha succeeded in drawing the attention of the world. Millions saw the newsreels showing the march. Time magazine declared Gandhiji its 1930 Man of the Year, comparing Gandhiji's march to the sea "to defy Britain's salt tax as some New Englanders once defied a British tea tax."[107] Civil disobedience continued until early 1931, when Gandhiji was finally released from prison to hold talks with Irwin and resulted in the Gandhiji-Irwin Pact.

A. Long-term effect.

Salt Satyagraha produced scant progress toward dominion status or independence for India, and did not win any major concessions from the British.[108] Congress leaders decided to end satyagraha as official policy in 1934. Nehru and other Congress members drifted further apart from Gandhiji, who withdrew from Congress to concentrate on his Constructive Programme, which included his efforts to end untouchability in the Harijan movement.[109] The Satyagraha campaign of the 1930s also forced the British to recognize that their control of India depended entirely on the consent of the Indians. Salt Satyagraha was a significant step in the British losing that consent.[110]

In 1937, provincial elections were held and the Congress came to power in seven of the eleven provinces. This was a strong indicator of the Indian people's support for complete Independence.

When the Second World War started, Viceroy Linlithgow unilaterally declared India a belligerent on the side of Britain, without consulting the elected Indian representatives. In opposition to Linlithgow's action, the entire Congress leadership resigned from the local government councils. However, many wanted to support the British war effort, and indeed the British Indian Army is the largest volunteer force, numbering 2,500,000 men during the war.[111]

On 8th August 1940, early in the Battle of Britain, the Viceroy of India, Lord Linlithgow made the so-called **August Offer**-a fresh proposal promising the expansion of the Executive Council to include more Indians, the establishment of an advisory war council, giving full weight to minority opinion, and the recognition of Indians' right to frame their own constitution (after the end of the war). In return, it was hoped that all parties and communities in India would cooperate in Britain's war effort.

The declaration marked an important advance over the existing state of things, as it recognised at least the natural and inherent right of the people of the country to determine the form of their future constitution, and explicitly promised dominion status. However, The Congress Working Committee meeting at Wardha on August 21, 1940 rejected this offer, and

asserted its demand for complete freedom from the imperial power. Gandhi viewed it as having widened the gulf between Nationalist India and the British ruler. It was also rejected by Muslim League. The Muslim League asserted that it would not be satisfied by anything short of partition of India.

The following proposals were put in:

1. After the war a representative Indian body would be set up to frame a constitution for India.
2. Viceroy's Executive Council would be expanded without delay.
3. The minorities were assured that the government would not transfer power "to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in Indian national life."

iv. Individual Satyagraha 1940-41

The Congress was in a confused state again after the August Offer. The radicals and leftists wanted to launch a mass Civil Disobedience Movement, but here Gandhi insisted on Individual Satyagraha. The Individual Satyagraha was not to seek independence but to affirm the right of speech. The other reason of this Satyagraha was that a mass movement may turn violent and he would not like to see the Great Britain embarrassed by such a situation. This view was conveyed to Lord Linlithgow by Gandhi when he met him on September 27, 1940. The non-violence was set as the centerpiece of Individual Satyagraha. This was done by carefully selecting the Satyagrahis. The first Satyagrahi selected was Acharya Vinoba Bhave,

who was sent to Jail when he spoke against the war. Second Satyagrahi was Jawahar Lal Nehru. Third was Brahma Datt, one of the inmates of the Gandhi's Ashram. They all were sent to jails for violating the Defense of India Act. This was followed by a lot of other people. But since it was not a mass movement, it attracted little enthusiasm and in December 1940, Gandhi suspended the movement. The campaign started again in January 1941, this time, thousands of people joined and around 20 thousand people were arrested.

v. Quit India Movement or the Final Satyagraha

The Quit India Movement *(Bharat Chhodo Andolan)* or the *August Movement* was a civil disobedience movement in India launched on 8 August 1942 in response to Gandhi's call for immediate independence of India and against sending Indians to World War II. He asked all teachers to leave their schools, and other Indians to leave their respective jobs and take part in this movement. Due to Gandhi's political influence, his request was followed by a massive proportion of the population.

At the outbreak of war, the Congress Party had during the Wardha meeting of the working-committee in September 1939, passed a resolution conditionally supporting the fight against fascism,[113] but were rebuffed when they asked for independence in return. In March 1942, faced with an increasingly dissatisfied sub-continent, only reluctantly participating in the war and deteriorations in the war situation in Europe and South East Asia,

and with growing dissatisfactions among Indian troops-especially in Europe-and among the civilian population in the sub-continent, the British government sent a delegation to India under Stafford Cripps, in what came to be known as the Cripps' Mission. The purpose of the mission was to negotiate with the Indian National Congress a deal to obtain total co-operation during the war, in return of progressive devolution and distribution of power from the crown and the Viceroy to elected Indian legislature. However, the talks failed, having failed to address the key demand of a timeframe towards self-government, and of definition of the powers to be relinquished, essentially portraying an offer of limited dominion-status that was wholly unacceptable to the Indian movement.[114] To force the British Raj to meet its demands and to obtain definitive word on total independence, the Congress took the decision to launch the Quit India Movement.

The aim of the movement was to force the British Government to the negotiating table by holding the Allied war effort hostage. The call for determined but passive resistance that signified the certitude that Gandhi foresaw for the movement is best described by his call to *Do or Die*, issued on 8th August 1942, at the Gowalia Tank Maidan in Bombay, since renamed *August Kranti Maidan* (August Revolution Ground). However, almost the entire Congress leadership, and not merely at the national level, was put into confinement less than 24 hours after Gandhi's speech, and the

greater number of the Congress khiland were to spend the rest of the war in jail.

On 8th August 1942, the Quit India resolution was passed at the Bombay session of the All India Congress Committee (AICC). The draft proposed that if the British did not accede to the demands, a massive Civil Disobedience would be launched. However, it was an extremely controversial decision. At Gowalia Tank, Mumbai, Gandhi urged Indians to follow a non-violent civil disobedience. Gandhi told the masses to act as an independent nation and not to follow the orders of the British. The British, already alarmed by the advance of the Japanese army to the India-Burma border, responded the next day by imprisoning Gandhi at the Aga Khan Palace in Pune. The Congress Party's Working Committee, or national leadership was arrested all together and imprisoned at the Ahmednagar Fort. They also banned the party altogether. All the major leaders of the INC were arrested and detained. As the masses were leaderless the protest took a violent turn. Large-scale protests and demonstrations were held all over the country. Workers remained absent en masse and strikes were called. The movement also saw widespread acts of sabotage, Indian under-ground organisation carried out bomb attacks on allied supply convoys, government buildings were set on fire, electricity lines were disconnected and transport and communication lines were severed. The disruptions were under control in a few weeks and had little impact on the

war effort. The movement soon became a leaderless act of defiance, with a number of acts that deviated from Gandhi's principle of non-violence. In large parts of the country, the local underground organisations took over the movement. However, by 1943, *Quit India* had petered out.

All the other major parties rejected the Quit India plan, and most cooperated closely with the British, as did the princely states, the civil service and the police. The Muslim League supported the Raj and grew rapidly in membership, and in influence with the British.

vi. Partition and Independence of India

On 3rd June 1947, Viscount Louis Mountbatten, the last British Governor General of India, announced the partitioning of British India into India and Pakistan. With the speedy passage through the British Parliament of the Indian Independence Act 1947, at 11:57 on 14 August 1947 Pakistan was declared a separate nation, and at 12:02, just after midnight, on 15 August 1947, India also became an independent nation. Violent clashes between Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims followed. Prime Minister Nehru and Deputy Prime minister Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel invited Mountbatten to continue as Governor General of India. He was replaced in June 1948 by Chakravarti Rajagopalachari. Patel took on the responsibility of bringing into the Indian Union 565 princely states, steering efforts by his "iron fist in a velvet glove" policies, exemplified by the use of military force to integrate Junagadh and Hyderabad State into India (Operation Polo). On

the other hand, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru kept the issue of Kashmir in his hands.

The Constituent Assembly completed the work of drafting the constitution on 26 November 1949; on 26 January 1950, the Republic of India was officially proclaimed. The Constituent Assembly elected Dr. Rajendra Prasad as the first President of India, taking over from Governor General Rajgopalachari. Subsequently India invaded and annexed Goa and Portugal's other Indian enclaves in 1961), the French ceded Chandernagore in 1951, and Pondichéry and its remaining Indian colonies in 1956, and Sikkim voted to join the Indian Union in 1975.

Following Independence in 1947, India remained in the Commonwealth of Nations, and relations between the UK and India have been friendly. There are many areas in which the two countries seek stronger ties for mutual benefit, and there are also strong cultural and social ties between the two nations. The UK has an ethnic Indian population of over 1.6 million. In 2010, Prime Minister David Cameron described Indian - British relations as a "New Special Relationship".[115]

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